By John O'Meara

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to outline the history of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky. Lissinisky, Ballymackey and Toomevara lie together a few miles east of Nenagh. The paper includes some account of a few (only) of their descendants distinguished in the army, medicine and the Church. Dr. Patrick Ashe, of O'Meara descent, is engaged on a more comprehensive study of the topic, from which this paper has gratefully profited in some important details.

Careful use has been made of some of the many primary and secondary sources consulted, particularly the Memorials in the Registry of Deeds. These reveal, for example, the probable birthplace of Barry O'Meara, Napoleon's doctor, and the existence of a Loghlin O'Meara of Slevyre (near Terryglass) who died in 1791-93 – something of a missing link.

The names of persons, families and places were rendered in the succession of centuries in many curious ways. Accordingly, for ease of understanding a usual, common or simple form is used here, except where the precise rendering in a given situation is critical – for example, O'Meara, instead of Meara, Mearoe, Merry and so on, but O'Morra being given where that spelling is critical. Likewise for the name Lissinisky.

1. The O'Mearas of Upper Ormond (to sixteenth century)

The poet O'Huidhrin, who died before 1420, writes of the O'Mearas of the Eóghanacht Crich Cathbhuidh as being of the 'noble kindreds of Ireland':

'O'Mearadhaig, the good king, Chief of the Ui Fathaidh, who obtained great lands, The O'Neills of Ui Eoghain Finn, All these lions I mention.

'Green its braird [first shoots of grass or corn], green its mounds, Eóghanacht Crich Cathbhuidh.

'To O'Mergdha belong as his share The smooth Eóghanacht of Ross-arguid, He is lord of every hill of fairy spirits About the beauteous Carn Mughaine'.'

The Eóghanacht Crich Cathbhuidh settled on both sides of the Nenagh river, an area known as Inland Muskerry, as distinct from other Muskerries further south.² O'Donovan locates Rossarguid in Upper Ormond and reports that the Carn Mughaine (a woman's name) was still to be seen near Toomevara in 1862. Both D. and J. Gleeson take Uí Fathaidh as referring to Upper Ormond, while O'Donovan refers it to the barony of Iffa and Offa further south.

It seems possible that O'Donovan and others confused Uí Fathaidh here with the similarsounding name of the barony of Iffa and Offa in the south of the county. At any rate, the above verses, written around 1400, assert that an O'Meara chief held much land in Upper Ormond by that time, that he descended from the Eóghanacht, and that his family was counted among the noble kindreds of Ireland.

In this context it is helpful to remember that there was a consolidation in the 8th and 9th centuries of local hereditary lordships, and the emergence of a narrower, more powerful, and more exclusive lordly class. This class, between 850 and 1200, took surnames, cutting itself off from the much wider group, with which it shared a remote eponymous ancestor. It is in some such way, apparently, that the O'Meara chiefs evolved from the Eóghanacht.³

Who were the Eóghanacht? A recent (1971-80) account of them is found in Ó Corráin.⁴ MacNeill had put forward the view that, since their genealogies show that they worshipped the Gaulish god Segomo, (= Roman Mars, the God of War), and this god is unknown in Irish tradition, they came from outside, in fact from around the river Seine, the river of Paris in France.⁵

This view is supported by three ogham inscriptions near Dungarvan and Ardmore which have been connected with Segomo. MacNeill supposed that these worshippers of Segomo arrived in Ireland about the 5th century, when St. Patrick is also believed to have arrived. Ó Corráin reports (1981) that 'this opinion is now not widely held'.⁶ MacNeill, however, was a very considerable historian.

But are the O'Mearas not descended from Ailgenan, who is 99th in the MacCarthy Mór pedigree, descended from Cormac Cas, brother of Eoghan Mór, and son of Oilill Olum – and so descended from the Dalcassians?⁷ This is the genealogy given in O'Hart. MacLysaght asserts that the genealogies in O'Hart are of no more than mythological interest, that they are 70 per cent incorrect, and should be used, if at all, with caution.⁸ The fact appears to be that the Eóghanacht, having dominated Munster for centuries as Kings and Abbots of Cashel down to 908, were conquered by one of their tributary people, later known as the Dalcassians. These were originally known as the Déisi; and of these the Déisi Tuaiscirt (Northern) had dominance in east Clare from 744. They appear in the Annals as Dál Cais in 934. By then they had fabricated a genealogy connecting them to the Eóghanacht.⁹ Hence the O'Mearas were said to be descended from both the Eóghanacht and the Dalcassians, although O'Huidhrin is clear that the descent is from the earlier Eóghanacht.

The type of society emerging in Ireland in the 11th and 12th centuries was one that was moving rapidly in the direction of feudalism.¹⁰ Whereas under the Gaelic system succession to king or chief could in theory go to any male member within the *gelfine* (within three generations), this system was weakening.

The O'Mearas of the Eóghanacht Crich Cathbhuidh near the Nenagh river took their surname, presumably as others did, from the genitive case singular of the name of an ancestor who flourished in the period 850 to 1200.¹¹ The original name appears to have been Mearadaig (Mearadac),'lively'. Subsequently the name is found in a confusing variety of versions: it is to be carefully distinguished from (O) Meagher and (O) Moore.

The Eóghanacht O'Mearas of Crich Cathbhuidh near the beauteous Carn Mughaine (close to Toomevara) appear to have as descendants the O'Mearas of Lissinisky, Chiefs of their name, Captains of their Sept, who had 'the office of levying and exacting the Earl of Ormond's tributes in Ormond'¹² in 1578. But they also had, according to O'Huidhrin, 'great lands', probably their own.

While the Norman families who invaded Ireland in 1169 (whom I shall here call 'Anglo-Norman', in contra-distinction to the 'English' who engaged in conquest centuries later) looked upon the (mere) Irish as ultimately inimical to them,¹³ they gradually intermarried with them.



Portion of North Tipperary from Petty's Down Survey, 1654, showing (circled at bottom of map) Nenagh and Lissinisky.

They also adopted some Gaelic institutions, and became Irish speaking to the extent that statutes were passed in 1366 which sought to arrest their wide-spread Gaelicization. Even so, the proclamation of Henry VIII as King of Ireland in 1541 had to be 'prudently declared' in Irish so as to be understood by the Anglo-Irish lords. In later times Roman Catholicism was a great bond between the Irish and the Anglo-Normans. In the 17th century the Irish united with the Anglo-Normans to fight for King (Stuart), Religion (Roman Catholicism), and Fatherland (Ireland).

In this developing context the O'Mearas of Lissinisky had close inter-marriage and other relationships with Anglo-Norman families in Tipperary, such as Bourke, Grace, Morris, Stapleton and Delahyde. They also had military and other obligations to the Ormond family, who in practice had almost absolute rule over Upper Ormond.¹⁴ As already mentioned, the O'Mearas held the office of levying and collecting taxes for the Earl of Ormond.

This association of the O'Mearas with the Ormond family appears to go back to the beginning of the 14th century at least. For example, Richard, Philip and Thomas de Mareis (de Mara?) leased Ormond land in Tipperary around 1304.¹⁵ Ormond made a treaty with Alan O Maghra, an Irish Chief, in 1354; this involved the rendering of services. The treaty was signed at Nenagh and has O'Maghra's seal.¹⁶

The Irish had been emerging *vis-à-vis* the Anglo-Normans, whom they greatly outnumbered, from about 1258. "Beyond the Pale lay the 'Region of the Irish', where reigneth more than sixty-four Chief Captains with other lesser captains, each region having its army of from 400-800 trained men".¹⁷ These Chiefs imitated the Anglo-Normans in building stone castles with their bawns (compounds) for living and defensive purposes. An Irish Chief was head of his Sept, i.e. of a group of the same surname living in the same locality.

Around 1600 many of these chiefs exchanged their Gaelic titles to land for English ones, and with this the Gaelic system gradually faded away. By 1640 the O'Mearas of Lissinisky held, on one calculation, 9,000 acres of land – "a compact individually owned 'Gaelic Estate'".¹⁸ Flattering¹⁹ and unflattering²⁰ accounts of chiefs' housing have come down to us. The will of William O'Meara of Lissinisky implies a considerable establishment.

The O'Meara Chiefs of Lissinisky, at least from the 16th century, were not only great landholders with close connections to Anglo-Norman families in Tipperary, but also enjoyed a certain social position. James III signed a 'Declaration of Noblesse' on 13 September 1707 (following an investigation by the Keeper of Arms and Rolls of James II in 1705) that Jean O'Meara in France, a great-grandson of William O'Meara of Lissinisky (*fl.* 1600-1624), was a gentleman by birth and descended on both paternal and maternal sides from 'noble parents' in his Kingdom of Ireland. The Keeper of Arms had certified that Jean was descended from William, 'of the principal family of Lissinisky' and was entitled to Arms which he therewith depicted.²¹

After William of Lissinisky surrendered his Gaelic title to his lands and was re-granted an English one in 1615 and 1617, he and his successors gradually discontinued to affect the title of Chief (until Morgan O'Meara who died in 1829). Although the Keeper of the Rolls of James II certified their 'nobility', they are described in documents usually as Gent. or Esquire, both of which 'titles' counted for something until this century.

What follows is an outline of the main descent of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky from the middle of the 16th to that of the 19th century, with an account of Loghlin O'Meara, the hero of Nenagh in 1652, which may be of special interest to the readers of this Journal. A few paragraphs are added on some of the descendants of the Lissiniskys who achieved fame in the army, medicine and the Church.

2. Descent of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky

Genealogical Table of the Descent

Donal	floruit circa 1541
1	Chief of his Nation
John	fl. 1543 – c. 1570
1	Captain of his Nation
Donill ¹	fl. 1570-99
	Captain of his Sept
	Chief of his Name
William ²	fl. 1600-24
	Gaelic title to lands
	exchanged for English one
Thady	1624-36
Daniel	fl. 1629-53
Thady	1651-c. 1690
Daniell	fl. 1694- c. 1715
I Morgan ³	fl. 1719-1739
l Morgan	fl. 1738-60
l Morgan	1752-1829

NOTES

- Donill's 4th son, Edmond, could have been the father (c. 1575-1633) of Loghlin O'Meara (*fl.* 1652): see p. 124. Donill's sixth son, Dermod, almost certainly was the noted physician (c. 1570-1626?): see pp.122, 123, 131.
- William's 2nd (in succession) son, John, appears to have been the origin of a very distinguished O'Meara family in the service of France: see pp. 122, 130.
- 3. Morrogh (= Morgan) is found as an O'Meara personal name in the 17th century in Tipperary (see Laffan).

1. Donal, fl. 1541, Chief of his Nation, obtained grant of English liberty 29.6.1541.²²

2. John, *fl*. 1543-70, Captain of his Nation, Gent. Married Honora?²³ Children: Ranyt, Any (Amy), who married Archbishop Miler Magrath, and son and heir Donyll.²⁴

Testimony. John O'Meara, Captain of his Nation, Thady O'Meara, Prior of St. John's (Nenagh), Donald O'Meara, *Custos* (guardian) of Tom (Toomevara), *capitaeus* (superior?) of Thady, John Grace, *baro*(Baron) listed as witnesses on 12.3.1543.²⁵ The above suggests that these witnesses were of the Lissinisky family with direct influence on the monasteries mentioned, and that they had some (marriage?) connection with the Anglo-Norman, Baron John Grace.

3. Donill, Daniel, Donald, Donyll *fl*. 1570-99. Born *c*. 1537? Captain of his Sept, Chief of his Name. Married Katherine Morris, daughter of Sir Richard Morris (Anglo Norman). Sons: William (heir), John, Donocha, Edmond, Teige, Dermod, Cnoghor; daughters: two, married to two Bourkes.

Testimonies: (i) 13.7.1570: Listed (in Irish) as Donill O'Meara along with Oliver and Thomas Grace and Edm. Butler.²⁶ (ii) 28.6.1578: contract (in Latin and according to Brehon Law) made outside the great gate of the garden of *murus aquae* (Lios-an-uisce) with Maurice Mac an Gowan of Borrisokane. The latter grants to Donald O'Meara, Captain of his Sept, Kiloganny as long as Donald O'Meara has the office of levying and exacting the Earl of Ormond's tribute in Ormond.²⁷ (iii) 1580: listed with Freeholders of Ormond.²⁸ (iv) 13.12.1592: Commission from 'noblemen, gentlemen and freeholders of the Ormond Palatinate: whatever the said Earl (of Ormond) shall "do" for them, they bind themselves to accomplish'. Signed by Donyll O'Meara, Chief of his Name, and others. (v) 15.2. 1596: Will; trustees both titled; Sir Donogh O'Meara present at ensealing. Donyll left Manors, houses.²⁹ (vi) 26.4.1598: Letter from Earl to Donill O'Meara advising him to receive seisin of Weyperous.^{29A} (vii) 29.3.1599: Donill O'Meara mentioned in indenture of release of his brother-in-law, Archbishop Miler Magrath.³⁰

Was this Donill the former *custos* of Tom, now married? The guardian of Tom had taken lay dress and built a castle in defence against the Irishrie.³¹

4. William *fl*. 1600-24. 'A native lord in his own land'; ³² 'of the principal family of Lissinisky'; 'of noble parents'.³³ Married Ellen Bourke, daughter of Theobald of Colachilla, still living in 1654.³⁴ Sons: Daniel (chose priesthood), Teige (heir, counted as first son), John, Matthew, Bryan Oge, Rory, Connor, Edmund, William. One daughter ('my little girl' in will).

Testimonies: (i) 1601: William O'Meara to deliver seisin of land in Birr.³⁵ (ii) 1615 -1617: granted a vast quantity of land in Upper Ormond and elsewhere - 'The Manor, Castle, Town and lands of Lissenuskie, together with the Castle of Lisbonie, Knockaltaine, Classnivine, Coulderrie, Ballinrih, with a water mill in Lisbonie'; also 'the Castle of Keappagh, Derrikennedy Leyney, Bualanrib, Ballyconile, Gurtinomara, Connhurt, Keillaghtragh, Fearrandroney als Knockaneclairivoorde, Newtown, Leackanvourney, Moyndossane, Moinmore, Duneally, Garrimore, Cloinaneagh, Gortinadocha, Erenagh and one eighth carrucate in Ceappaghrua and Tulla', all in Ormond.³⁶ This is taken to be an exchange of an Irish land title for an English one. Other land elsewhere was given to him, as well as licence to hold fairs, courts, and collect tolls; (iii) 1616: Although Sheriff, charged for not taking Oath of Supremacy and releasing recusants: he was jailed for harbouring a priest.³⁷ (iv) 16.1.1624: Will.³⁸ This gives evidence of a considerable social standing and a fairly opulent establishment payment for wine, silver from Dublin and so on. His trustees had to approve of his heir's proposed wife, and the behaviour of his daughter, if she were to inherit the £40 willed to her. His son John was to inherit land in Bandownamona.39 There were bequests to priests. (v) 1624: Inscription on tomb in Latin, said to be composed by Dr. Dermod O'Meara, possibly his brother (of whom more later). The text (imperfect) is in Sheehan. An approximate translation is as follows - 'In this tomb lies the illustrious offspring of the Mearas. Open to him, passer-by, the road to Eternity by your prayers. Son of God, open to William Meara and Ellen Bourke the royal Way of your Blood (Redemption). He scattered good deeds throughout the journey of life. Let this marble monument, you who read, be witness to you of this. 1641. Deliver him from evil'. The date 1641 raises questions since William's heir succeeded in 1624 and his wife was alive in 1654. Note: William's 'young sons' - Rory, Connor, Edmund and William seem to be the men of these names entered for Ballyknockane in the parish of Ballymackey in 1665-67.40

5. Thady/Teig. Gent. *fl.* 1624-36. Married Honora Grace, daughter of Robert Grace of Courtestown, Co. Kilkenny. Robert was great-grandson of Sir John Grace (cf. Funeral entry in Genealogical Office for *c*. 1637, where combined arms of O'Meara and Grace are given). Sons: Daniel (heir), William, Patrick; daughters: Ellen, Katherine and, it appears, one other. Arms: Altered somewhat from those of O'Meara of "Iffa and Offa".⁴¹

Testimonies: (i) The *Tipperary Inquisitions* in the Royal Irish Academy III. 11 gives a list of his property at his death, all held from 'King, on head of military service'. Mention is made of land transactions with Gleesons, Stapletons, Bourkes, and others.⁴² Died in Co. Waterford and buried in Clonmel. (ii) 'In his [Thady's] district the King's title has, by the remissness of officers, been allowed to lapse.'⁴³

6. Daniel 1629-1653 Gent., Esq. Succeeded at seven years of age. Taken into guardianship by (Bishop?) Anthony Dopping and brought up "a good Protestant".⁴⁴ Exempted from confiscations after 1641 Rebellion, as having been then a minor. His guardian also pleaded that 'he was not of sound mind' and not responsible. Married: Honora Morrell (Mortell?).⁴⁵ Son: heir Thady.

Testimonies: (i) 1641: Land holdings reported in *C. S.*: e.g. 1060 acres at Lissinisky itself. Land transactions with Oliver Bourke reported there also. (ii) September 1653: Will. His property (9,000 acres)⁴⁶ was 'held from the King for military service'.⁴⁷ (iii) 1653-4: on jury for Civil Survey for Upper Ormond, and so 'included among most able and ancient inhabitants of the country'. He may have been dead before the jury sat, but there was provision for a substitute – Patrick O'Meara of Lisbuny. Two other O'Mearas were on this jury, probably descendants of the Lissinisky family.

7. Thady/Teige 1651-1690. Succeeded Daniel at two years of age and came under guardianship of Dopping. Lived at Parke (Laffan), east of Lissinisky, but his heir was described as of Lissinisky. Thady had 924 acres in Lissinisky itself. Thomas, barrister son of Dr. Dermod O'Meara (see p. 131), acted for Thady in legal matters, implying, perhaps, that he had a Lissinisky connection (see pp. 122, 131). Married. Later his widow married William Bourke.⁴⁸ Children: Daniell of Lissinisky, heir. A daughter married Dalton of Grenanstown, a Catholic neighbour: her dowry was £1,000, a considerable sum.⁴⁹

Testimonies: (i) 1663: Decree of Innocence. In the *B.S.D.* he was 'given' not only Daniel's holding at Lissinisky, Coolderry and Lisbunny, but also the holdings of other O'Mearas in Cappagh East (148 acres), Kilmore (593), Bawne (94), Nenagh (18), Coolbawn (28), Killine (45) – altogether some 2,789 'profitable' acres.⁵⁰ In the *B.S.D.* there is a Teig Marae or Mera who is dispossessed of land in Knockanglish, Clonleagh and Garrane. The same Thady/Teig is hardly in question; (ii) 1690: as he was on the Stuart side, he forfeited everything.⁵¹

8. Daniell of Lissinsky, fl. 1694 - c. 1715. Heir of Thady.⁵² Married:? c. 1701 Joanna Ryan.⁵³

Testimonies: (i) 15.11.1694, Daniell Meara of Lissinisky, an Irish Jacobite, had applied to him the Articles of Treaty of Limerick and Galway: i.e., he had the choice of going to France or to submit in Ireland to William III with property intact.⁵⁴ (ii) 5.2.1701: 2356 acres in Upper Ormond and 79 acres in Lower Ormond restored to him.⁵⁵ (iii) Death.⁵⁶

9. Morgan of Lissinisky/Nenagh, *fl*. 1719-1739. While there is (as yet) no documentary evidence that he was son and heir to Daniell (above), it seems likely.

Testimonies: (i) From 30.3.1719 to 8.5.1737 the distinctive signature of Morgan O Meara

appears eight times in the Old Vestry Book of the Church of Ireland parish of Ballymackey.⁵⁷ He acted a few times as church warden, and as overseer of roads in the parish; (ii) Many leases of land by Morgan O'Meara are in the Registry of Deeds, King's Inns (Names Index); (iii) 1739, will of Morgan O'Meara of Nenagh probated.⁵⁸

10. Morgan O'Meara of Lissinisky, Esq. *fl*. 1738-60. Probably son and heir of Morgan above. Married: Eliza Pennefather 1751. Sons: Morgan, Daniel, Richard.

Testimonies: (i) Leases of land in Registry of Deeds. (ii) Died c. 1760 (Vicars).

11. Morgan O'Meara of Ballymackey Castle and Barrack Street., Nenagh 1752-1829: 'Chief of the lordship of O'Meara, not inferior to his ancestors in hospitality and social virtues'.⁵⁹ Sheehan⁶⁰ gives a colourful account of his not very admirable manner of life: 'a fine old Irish gentleman representative of an ancient chieftancy ... a gambler, addicted to gallantry, hospitable, noble-mannered, and wicked'. He gambled his estate away. Occupied Ballymackey Castle or adjoining house.

Testimonies: (i) 1761-1786: Leases in Registry of Deeds. (ii) 1776-84: Signature in Church of Ireland, Ballymackey, Old Vestry Book. (iii) 1776: on list of Electors for Tipperary as residing in Ballymackey Castle and having freehold of Lissinisky (R.I.A.). (iv) 1776: yearly income worth £2000.60A (v) Bequest to Morgan O'Meara Esq. of Lissinisky, which includes Morgan's Seal.61 (vi) c. 1900 remembered by old man in Toomevara as The O'Meara, the last O'Meara Chieftain.62 'Last of O'Mearas to exercise Chieftancy over his Sept and died 1829'.63 He had no issue. He was interred at Ballymackey. Morgan's brother, Daniel (Lieutenant-General in Jamaica) predeceased him c. 1824. Daniel married Mary Peacocke, daughter of Sir Joseph Peacocke, Barntick, Ennis, Co. Clare, and lived in Thomas St., Limerick. He had as children: Morgan, Thady (both of Royal African Corps and deceased in 1824, 1825). Another son, Daniel, was also in the Royal African Corps. A daughter married Rev. Richard Studdert, Quin, Co. Clare. Descent passed through another son William, who had two sons, William, born 9.8.1858, surgeon on H.M.S. Urgent in 1887, and John Peacocke O'Meara of Castleconnell. William had land in Lower Ormond (Sheehan) and may be the W. H. O'Meara in the Land Commission's Index in the N.L.I. At this point we leave the direct line of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky; but the descendants of Lt. General Daniel O'Meara of Thomas St. Limerick must be traceable.

Since the O'Meara of greatest renown locally in Ormond, and of perhaps greatest interest to readers of this Journal is Loghlin O'Meara, who led a successful attack on the Cromwellian defenders of Nenagh Castle in 1652, we next explore what can be discovered about him and his descendants – all the more so as it appears possible that his grandfather or great-grandfather was one of the Chiefs of Lissinisky.

3. Loghlin O'Meara (fl. 1652)

There is a tradition, transmitted by both D. Gleeson and J. Gleeson, that one Loghlin O'Meara attacked the castle at Nenagh in 1652. The contemporary records, however, of this event name this person as Mellaghlin (6 times), or Loghlin/Laghlin (4 times) and O Morra (7 times), Morra (once), O'Moore (once) and More (once). This leaves Mellaghlin O'Morra as the name-combination easily the most used there.

That O'Meara could be rendered as O Morra in 1683 can be concluded from the Inchiquin MSS. nos. 1110, 1392, 1393, 1189, 1389, 1303, 1399, 32, 1369, 1392, taken in that sequence. This is

illustrated in the use of Omorra for O'Meara in contemporary Spanish military archives. That O Morra could be confused with O Moore is evidenced by Gilbert's Index, where O Morra, occurring in the text 7/8 times, is listed under Moore, a surname which occurs only once or, perhaps, twice. Jennings's Index does the same. That Mellaghlin/Loghlin could be represented by Malachy in the 16th century is attested by *Cal. Orm. V.* 39, 73 and I. 12 in an Inquisition in Tipperary itself.

Loghlin O'Meara could, therefore, in 1652 be referred to as Loghlin O'Meara (Laffan), Mellaghlin or Malachy O Morra, or Mellaghlin or Malachy O'Moore. Can we discover anything more about this military man named in Gilbert as Mellaghlin/Loghlin O'Morra?

From Jennings's references to Captain Edmond Omorra in Flanders in the early 17th century (indexed under Moore, although Omorra is the most frequent form in the text), we can learn something of his career and social position, and similarly those of his son Malachy Omorra.

Edmond Omorra was serving in Flanders in 1606. By 1621 he was captain of a company in the regiment of the Earl of Tyrone, and offered to raise a company of 200 men of the Irish nation without charge. In 1632 his son Malachy was an ensign in his company. In 1634 his daughter Margarita was granted an orphan's pension, which suggests that her father died *c*. 1633.

One can estimate (see following paragraph) that his son was born *c*. 1606 at latest; this means that Edmond may have been born *c*. 1580. His dates, therefore, are *c*. 1580-1633. This would allow him to be Edmond, the fourth son of Donill O'Meara of Lissinisky (*fl*. 1570-99). A Captain Edmund O'Mo(rra?) is listed in the *Calendar of State Papers* 1647-60, 159 as serving in Flanders in 1630 and said to be 'among officers of gentle or noble blood'. One might hypothesize that Captain Edmond Omorra was the son of a Lissinisky O'Meara Chief, or closely connected with the family, or at any rate from the same social level in Ireland.

About Edmond's son Malachy Omorra, we learn from Jennings that in 1632, as an ensign in his father's company, he got four months' leave to go to Ireland to recruit a company for the Earl of Tyrconnell. By then he had done 10 years in Flanders, which tends to imply that he had become ensign in *c*. 1622, possibly at about 16 years of age. This again would imply that he was born at latest *c*. 1606. He was commissioned captain in 1632 also, probably in connection with his recruiting mission to Ireland.

In 1639 he was serving in the regiment of the Earl of Tyrconnell and got leave to go to Spain. He was in Flanders again on both 16 April and 12 December 1641. This last entry in Jennings (no. 1784) is significant inasmuch as it corresponds exactly to that in Gilbert (I, 400), which lists 'Melaughlin O Moore' as among 'the principal Commanders and Captains of the Irish in Flanders'. *This confirms the identification of Malachy Omorra with Mellaghlin/Loghlin O'Morra/O'Meara.*

The entry is significant also in that the companions mentioned with him here – Richard Bourke and Stephen Delahoide/Delahide – have names associated with the Lissinisky O'Mearas: for these latter were intermarried with Bourkes and one Delahide; and Loghlin O'Meara campaigned with officers with these names in Tipperary and Galway in 1652. The social level of at least some of these military commanders and captains in Flanders is suggested by their attested easy access to royalty.

It is, perhaps significant also that December 1641 is the last mention of Malachy Omorra in Jennings, for the Earl of Tyrone and other Irish leaders returned to Ireland in 1642 to support the rebellion. It seems possible that Malachy Omorra also returned to Ireland soon after that date: his commander in 1652, Col. Richard Grace, returned from service in England to Ireland in 1646.

Henceforth we shall use the name 'Loghlin O'Meara', captain, infantry commander (at least for a time). Both his father and himself appear to have been somewhat outside of the ordinary military career, perhaps because they were both engaged in recruiting. There is no record that they held a rank higher than captain, although both reached at least about 50 years of age.

This factor, and perhaps his age – 46 at least in 1652 – may account for the representation of Loghlin in the description of the campaign of 1652 (as we shall immediately see) as mature, advising, and even in a position to give orders to officers of superior rank. It may also be the ground for some doubt (later shown to be unfounded) of his ability to lead a successful attack. The officers around him in 1652 may have been younger: his commander Grace fought and died at Athlone in 1690, which suggests that he was younger than one born in 1606.

Loghlin O'Meara first appears in the 1652 campaign against the Cromwellians serving under Col. Richard Grace, Confederate Governor of Birr. Grace's forces expanded and contracted according to the interests of his volunteers, success or failure, availability of sustenance and supplies, and other reasons. Hence it had many weaknesses and was not always fully welcomed by the population on which it survived. Grace's regular 'staff' included Col. Charles Molloy, Col. Daniell Carroll and Col. Tibbot Gawly. One gets the impression that Grace's command was an organization of local influential families in the North Tipperary-Offaly area.

The campaign of 1652 is sympathetically described in a Jacobite manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, known as the *Aphorismical Discovery*, which is reproduced in Gilbert (III). The account that follows here is brief. The affair is also described with less sympathy in Dunlop⁶⁴ and *Com. Rin.*⁶⁵

On May 12, 1652 Grace, while delaying to reply to an offer of terms for his submission, led his forces from Birr (which he had pillaged and burned) to Nenagh. Arriving there he was 'surprised' to find the Cromwellian defenders of the Castle ready for him in front of its walls. On May 17 'one Laghlin O Morra ... brave ... [having] few followers ... was leading the foot at present ... [gave] wage that he would make trial [of an attack on the Cromwellians]. The bloody pastime lasted from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Our valiant commander [O'Meara] had the honours of the day. The Cromwellian officers did marvel'.

O'Meara's fellow commander, Gawly, had stationed himself on a hill to see if O'Meara would win the wager. O'Meara's intervention may have been motivated by his need to show himself brave in an area near the seat of the O'Mearas.

Grace subsequently took an oath to the Confederacy of Kilkenny to fight for King, Religion and Country, and not to submit (as some leaders were doing) without being released from his oath by a specified Catholic bishop. This oath was signed by 40 others, including Meallaghlin O Morra, Molloy, Gawly and Carroll.

On June 9 Grace accepted an invitation to cross the Shannon to join Col. Richard Bourke: his forces were in poor shape even in spite of the victory at Nenagh. With him went 'Gawly, Charles Molloy, Daniell Carroll and Mellaghlin O Morra.' They burned Portumna and went on to 'serve' Loughrea in the same way. They enjoyed 'pleasant days' expecting reinforcements. Their hosts soon asked them to accept 'beeves' and bags of money in lieu of pillage. Having heard rumours of the approaching enemy, they chose to believe that this was a ruse to get them to move on. 'Mellaghlin O'Morra advised withdrawal or at least to change ground'; they were in the middle of a bog. Grace and Gawly approved of this.

But then they discovered that the enemy was only a half-a-mile away. 'Whereupon Mellaghlin, commander of the foot for that expedition, was 'interposed' by Col. Carroll'. O'Morra held 'passage to the bog' and advised Grace to escape, 'that some of us perish and you escape'. This happened on June 19, 1652. Grace did escape with 10 horse across the Shannon.

The *A*. *D*. tells us that Laghlin More (i.e., O Morra) with Col. Molloy and Lt. Col. Dunn with 1000 foot and 80 horse were 'yet in arms for his Majesty' on December 12, 1652 and 'kept their swords in their hands to withstand Parliamentary tyranny'. They numbered among them 'the gentlemen of these parts', i.e. King's County and Queen's Co., which included Grace's former governorship of Birr: this extended to North East Tipperary.

This is the last we hear of Loghlin O'Meara, the military man. While we know of the surrender of Col. Richard Grace and other fellow-officers, there is no record that O'Meara was killed or opted to go overseas. If he was not guilty of involvement in any massacre in 1641 (when he appears to have been in the Low Countries), he would have been allowed to avail himself of having all his rights restored, on accepting obedience to Parliament.

But we do hear shortly after of a Loghlin O'Meara as a juror at Nenagh in September 1654 for the Civil Survey of Lower Ormond.⁶⁶ These jurors, of which there were about twelve, were 'composed of the most able and ancient inhabitants of the country: it would not be an unreasonable conjecture to assume that, in most cases, they were relatives of proprietors – brothers or elder sons'.⁶⁷ In the corresponding list of jurors for Upper Ormond there were three O'Mearas, one being from Lissinisky.

This association in the juries for both Ormonds indicates the social level of Loghlin O'Meara and the possible family connection with the Lissiniskys. In the list of jurors for Lower Ormond, Loghlin O'Meara is described as Gent. from the Barony of Lower Ormond, with an address at Newtowne. It is possible, but must be considered unlikely, that this Newtown is the Ballinoe/ Newtown, part of the Lissinisky O'Mearas area, just over the boundary from Lower Ormond, in Upper Ormond. It seems, however, that we should look for the Newtown in question in Lower Ormond. There were several Newtowns there.

As it happens, there are entries in Laffan's *Hearth Money Records* for Co. Tipperary, 1665-66 and 1666-67 of the name Loghlin Meara in the parish of Ardcrony in Lower Ormond. And there was a Newtown to the south-east of that parish, since the 6" Ordnance Survey map of the early 19th century shows a Newtown there on sheets 15, 17, and 18. It is to be remarked, moreover, that while Laffan gives what must be a fairly comprehensive list of the Christian names found for the O'Meara householders in Co. Tipperary he gives only this one Loghlin of Ardcrony. There is not even another Mellaghlin or Malachy O'Meara.

It seems likely, therefore, that this Loghlin O'Meara of Ardcrony was the juror for Lower Ormond. There must remain, however, the possibility that between 1654 and 1665 Loghlin O'Meara changed address and that the most important of the Newtowns in Lower Ormond was in question in 1654, that is the Newton to the north-east of Lorrha, a short distance from Birr. This would enhance the reason for Loghlin O'Meara's campaigning with Grace in 1652.

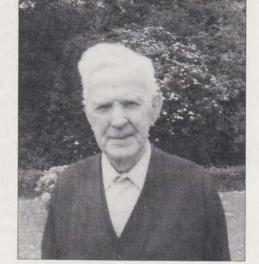
However, there are many other possibilities. Loghlin may have had an address in a Newtown and his main holding in another place. Other Newtowns are in question, such as one to the west of Lorrha or one south of Terryglass. Perhaps the addresses are purely formal and may refer to the area represented by a juror, while his own address was elsewhere. Finally, perhaps Loghlin O'Meara of 1652 is not in question.

Taking account of all these considerations, it must remain not unreasonable to hypothesize that the captain from 1632 to 1642 in the Low Countries, the commander of foot in the Col. Grace campaign around Lower Ormond in 1652, the juror of 1654, and the householder in Lower Ormond in 1665-67 are all the same Loghlin O'Meara. If this is so, he was of the same social level as the O'Mearas of Lissinisky and, perhaps, grandson of Donill (*fl.* 1570-99), Chief of his Name.

Considering Laffan's seeming tendency to list in succession fathers of households and their

sons, it might appear that Loghlin O'Meara had a son called Morragh. Morragh/Morrogh is a name found as Morgan in three O'Mearas of Lissinisky from 1719 to 1829. There is, too, a well-established tradition, going back to the last century, that a son of Loghlin O'Meara was executed by Ginkel at Castle Wellington in 1690.⁶⁸

There is also a tradition, recorded by Michael O'Meara of Ballinagrass (1892-1982), who inherited it from his father and grand-father (1811-1896: see headstone 163/171 in Terryglass) that descendants of Loghlin O'Meara lived around Slevyre, beside Terryglass, for two or three generations after the Cromwellian confiscations. Michael's great-grand-father, the account goes, was evicted from Slevyre, and later went to Islandmore in Lough Derg in 1814-16.⁶⁹



This tradition, which can partly be checked against official documents, merits some consideration. According to it Loghlin's land was confiscated and given to Wallers, who were

Michael O'Meara of Ballinagrass (1892-1982).

prominent in Lower Ormond. His son was hanged by Ginkel in 1690 at Castle Wellington. At this stage (i.e., after 1690) we are told that Loghlin's descendants lived around Slevyre for two or three generations – say to 1780 at most.

A descendant Owen is mentioned in connection with Islandmore. Owen's son Patrick was evicted first from Slevyre and then, again by Wallers, from the Long Lane, Clonmacilladuff, which is at a junction to Kevinstown about a mile on the road east from Coolbawn. Patrick with two young sons and a daughter went to Islandmore about 1814-16. He and a John O'Meara duly appear for Islandmore in the Tithe Applotment of 1823. This Patrick was great-grandfather of Michael (1892-1982), who recorded this tradition. John (possibly Owen?) may have been Patrick's father.

Documents in fact reveal that there was a Loghlin O'Meara who had leaseholdings in Slevyre of 251 acres, in partnership with another, and 118 acres on his own up to 1791, when he made a will, which survived until the fire in the Four Courts in 1922.⁷⁰ But this Loghlin may very well have leased other land or even owned some. Since his eldest son, we know, was born in 1760, he must have been born some time before 1740.

While this later Loghlin O'Meara may have been called after the hero of Nenagh, although not descended from him, it may at least equally well be that he was called after this hero *because* he was a descendant. The tradition recorded by Michael O'Meara (1892-1982) may have confused the two Loghlins, yet it merits a little further attention.

On the death of Loghlin of Slevyre (1791-3), his elder son James (1760-1830: headstone 141 in Terryglass), described as his executor, surrendered the lease of 251 acres in 1793.⁷¹ Another son Patrick, who farmed in Tourleitra in the Barony of Leitrim, Co. Galway, surrendered in 1794 the lease of 118 acres in exchange for a house, called Knultaduff, and 2 acres in Slevyre.⁷²

Presumably Patrick wanted to live in Slevyre in a house of some quality. This may be the 'house only' listed in the *Griffith Valuation* (1850) for a Patrick O'Meara at Firmount, a name which covers Slevyre. As to the leasing of land, a Patrick O'Meara leased 169 acres beside

Terryglass according to the *Tithe Applotment* 1823, and a Patrick and (significantly) his brother James leased 65 acres also near Terryglass up to 1808.⁷³

A James O'Meara, very likely Loghlin's executor (above), appears in the *Tithe Applotment* for Terryglass of 1823 as leasing land in Kilfadda/Firmount from Firman of Slevyre. The townlands specified under Terryglass are Firmount, Kilfadda/Firmount, Shanavalla, Macloon, Roran; sometimes one townland seems to include another in official documents: Firmount, e.g. for Slevyre and *vice versa*. James appears to have had a son, also named James (headstone 147 Terryglass), who features in the *Griffith Valuation* (1850) as leasing land in Firmount, also from Firman of Slevyre. This second James of Firmount, born probably around 1785, had a brother Michael (1787-1862) whom he buried with their father, James (headstone 147, Terryglass).

It is this James of Firmount, perhaps, who also witnessed the death of Patrick O'Meara, married, farmer, of Macloon, who lived from 1786 to 1869 (Registry of Deaths). Patrick may have been a brother or a cousin, since his name is not recorded on the family tombstone. The death certificate indicates that 'bronchitis, 1 week certified' was the cause of death. The family tradition says that Patrick, who went to Islandmore in 1814-16, *was* buried in Terryglass.

This Patrick (1786-1869) may be the Patrick who is listed in the *Tithe Applotment* for Islandmore in 1823, but has disappeared from the *Griffith Valuation* for 1850, when he would have been about 64 years of age. Did he return to his native Slevyre area in the meantime, near where his daughter was married at Eglish? His short illness at about 83 years of age might account for the absence of his sons Michael or Patrick of Islandmore at his death.

Patrick (1786-1869) can hardly be Patrick the son of Loghlin (*c*. 1740-91/3), born *c*. 1760, and so unlikely to have his first child in 1811. He would more likely be the grandson of Loghlin, son of a son other than James and Patrick – Owen (according to the family tradition), perhaps, which may have been (mistakingly) used for John.

The reality of the 'eviction' of Patrick from Clonmacilladuff in 1814-16 is confirmed not only by a contemporary account⁷⁴ but by the relevance of a Memorial of 1806 (R.D. 582.110. 391793) in which a landlord, Sadleir, plans for the eviction at a future date of tenants from Clonmacilladuff.⁷⁵ These lands 'were held by sundry tenants claiming under some title or titles that thereafter might be impeached and evicted ... Any such tenant or tenants ... should be evicted of such possession'.

It would seem, however, that Patrick may have retained or acquired other leases on the mainland, since the *Tithe Applotment* of 1823 lists a Patt (a less usual spelling) Meara as having a lease at Bellview, near Clonmacilladuff. The entry for Islandmore at the same time is also for Patt Meara – but, of course, there were other Patrick Mearas in the area, who might have been entered as Patt.

The progeny of Patrick O'Meara of Islandmore and his sons – Michael (b. 1811), Patrick c. 1810-12) and daughter – was numerous and recorded up to his death by Michael O'Meara of Ballinagrass (1892-1982), the great-grandson of Patrick (*fl.* 1814-16) and, it would seem, great-great-great-grandson of Loghlin O'Meara of Slevyre who died in 1791/3. The connection of this Loghlin with Loghlin (*fl.* 1652), is not 'proved' here. But the family tradition recorded by Michael O'Meara (1892-1982), as has been demonstrated, is not prone to fancy, and it does record the connection.

Loghlin O'Meara (d. 1791/3) *did* live at the centre of the triangle within which the campaign of 1652 did operate – Birr, Nenagh, Loughrea. He *was* in comfortable circumstances. He was named Loghlin, which would have been almost expected if he were descended from Loghlin the military hero of only two or three generations before. Some connection of this hero with the O'Mearas of Lissinisky seems at least plausible.

Appendix

Some other O'Mearas seemingly connected with those of Lissinisky

At no time during the writing of this paper has the author been unaware that descendants of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky other than those mentioned here must be numerous. No attempt can be made to advert to them here. Something, however, might be added on some other O'Mearas, seemingly connected with the Lissiniskys, who have distinguished themselves in the army, medicine and the Church.

A great deal of work, for example, is being done by M. Puniet de Parry, of O'Meara descent, on O'Mearas, following, like Loghlin, a military career – but in France. These French (and in part Spanish) Lissiniskys appear to have originated in John of Ballinoe/Newtown, third (but, in succession, second) son of William of Lissinisky (*fl.* 1600-24). William gave a considerable quantity of land to John Meara of Ballynoe, Gent. at Bawne in the parish of Kylmore.⁷⁶

Bawn(e) was bounded on the North by the parish of Nenagh and on the East by the lands of the Abbey of Tyone. It was, therefore, contiguous to Nenagh on the south and east, and Nenagh could easily be used to refer to Bawn, especially from overseas. Ballinoe/Newtown almost certainly refers, not to any place in Kilmore, but to the Newtown beside Lissinisky. Indeed, John's descendants seem to have continued to live in the Lissinisky area for a long time, and at Cloneleagh also, of which place-name there is a variety of spellings.

John (*fl.* 1640) of Newtown had a son Thady, who appears in both Spanish and French sources as of Newtown and Gent. He had two sons; John (who got a declaration of nobility from James III in 1707 as descended from William of Lissinisky (*fl.* 1600-1624)) and Thomas. Thomas had a son William of Clunale (= Cloneleagh?) who became a Knight of Montesa in 1708.⁷⁷

It appears likely that some other son of Thomas had two sons, Stephen (Etienne) born at 'Bawn' in 1717 and John, born in 1719 at 'Nenagh'.In 1792 this John was listed as presumed 'noble'. His great-grandfather, John, son of William (*fl*. 1600-1624), deemed noble, had got land from William in Bawn/Nenagh,⁷⁸ where Stephen and John were born. In due course John (b. 1719) produced a numerous and very famous military family in France: Thomas, Count of Bawn (1750-1819), the renowned defender (1793) of Dunkirk against the Duke of York, the twins Daniel and William (b. 1764) and others.⁷⁹

William, brother-in-law of the Duke of Feltre, became *aide-de-camp* to Marshal Lannes, beside whom he was wounded at the battle of Wagram (1809). Napoleon created him Baron of the Empire. Fanny Masterson, widow of a French military O'Meara, appealed to her connection with Lieutenant General Daniel O'Meara of Jamaica, brother of the last Lissinisky Chief, to support an application for assistance for her and her husband Thady's children.⁸⁰ This indicates a claim to a Lissinisky connection.

Another military O'Meara, associated also with Napoleon is Barry Edward (1786-1836). Although he is well-known for this association, his full and very interesting career after he returned from St. Helena to London is hardly known at all. Here attention is drawn only to inaccurate information on his parentage and unjustified assertions as to his birth-place. His father Jeremiah, on leaving the British Army in 1774, procured in 1775 a coat of arms the same as Thady's of the Lissiniskys,⁸¹ which may support a claim that he and Barry were descended from that family. His mother was Catherine Harper (not Murphy, as in the *D. N. B.*) who inherited much land in Laois and Offaly and, with her husband, was trustee for a brother and sister called Cuffe.

These last were on social terms with the former Lady Arabella Denny, who lived in a house at the North entry to Blackrock, Co. Dublin (of which more presently) across the road from Frascati, where Lord Edward FitzGerald's family lived. Blackrock was then known as Newtown-on-the-Strand and was a small exclusive suburb. In 1791 Jeremiah's address was Newtown park (*sic*: not necessarily the present Newtownpark Avenue); in 1800 and 1802 it was Newtown Ave.

At that time he (or rather his wife Catherine) owned the adjacent Newtown Castle Byrne. Newtown House and Newtown Castle Byrne are at the right angle on Newtown Avenue running beside the sea southward from Blackrock. Newtown park may have been here, as Newtown Ave. certainly was. It is not clear if Jeremiah changed addresses or if the addresses changed their names. But it is here at the southern exit from Blackrock that the family lived in 1791 and 1802.

Jeremiah's first son, Hely, was born in 1782, presumably in or around Newtown, for he was baptized in Monkstown (Church of Ireland) parish. Barry, the third son (R.D.543.430.363337), born in 1786 – unless there is positive evidence for such suggested birth-places as Lissinisky or Mallow – was likely to have been born in or around Newtown also, although there is no record of his baptism in Monkstown. But the record of baptisms for 1786 is missing.⁸²

Interrupting the account of military O'Mearas for a moment, one might draw attention to the later owner of Lady Arabella Denny's house at the north entry (just before the People's Park) to Blackrock. Thomas O'Meara (1760-1843), known as 'T.O.', a famous and expensive barrister and duellist, acquired the house in 1828, and renamed it Lisaniskea, as it is still called. 'T.O.' acquired it from John Pepper, whose family were neighbours – if not also relations – of the O'Mearas of Lissinisky. There is a deed of 1830 according to which Peppers owned 118 acres of the manor, town and land of Lissinisky, formerly occupied by Morgan O'Meara (last 'Chief' of Lissinisky, who died in 1829).

This leads one to speculate that 'T.O.' was connected with the O'Mearas of Lissinisky. He was a close friend and discreet financial supporter of O'Connell, with whom he had a marriage connection. The Catholic Association was founded on 8 February 1823, 'at a dinner party at O'Meara's house in (Glencullen) Wicklow'.⁸³ Although Barry Edward O'Meara's father was a generation older than 'T.O.', they are likely to have known one another in the society of Blackrock at the time. Barry, too, was a supporter, in London, of Daniel O'Connell. (For 'T.O.', see Cullen).

Returning to military matters, one should mention the many other O'Mearas who served Spain in the Low Countries. Jennings gives information on these. Marshall Theodore O'Meara was the most distinguished of these in the 17th century.⁸⁴ Some of them were doubtless connected with the Lissiniskys.

Turning to medicine, one notes that two of the most remarkable medical men in Dublin in the 17th century were O'Mearas, father Dermod (*c*. 1570-1624) and son Edmond (b. *c*. 1610). Dermod took a degree in physics at Oxford, where he was also known as a good poet. Indeed, he wrote a panegyric on the Earl of Ormond in 1615 and is said to have composed the inscription (referred to earlier) for the tomb of William O'Meara of Lissinisky, of whom he could have been a younger brother, the 6th son of Daniel, Chief. It is clear that he must have had some connection with the Lissinisky family. Returned to Ireland, he published a *Pathologia Hereditaria Generalis*, Dublin 1615.⁸⁵

Dermod's son Edmond was born in Ormond (c. 1610), as may have been his father. He studied at the Royal College of Physicians, London, at Oxford and got an M.D. Degree at Rheims in 1636. He practised at Bristol, in Ormond and at Dublin. He published a book on

fevers in 1665. His sons William became a physician, Edmund a Jesuit and Francis, burgess of Wicklow, a major in James's army at the Battle of the Boyne, where he was killed.

Edmond procured a coat of arms, very like those of Lissinisky, in 1688. He had Danganbracke Castle and 440 acres in the Barony of Bunratty in 1665-83 and appears to have had property at Lismisk (Lissinisky?). His estates in Wicklow were restored on 17 November, 1660. He died c. 1681-83.⁸⁶

Finally, a few words on the O'Mearas of Lissinisky and the Church. The Peter O'Meara, Abbot and Bishop of Clonfert in 1148^{86A} may or may not have been connected with the O'Mearas of Upper Ormond; but the Patrick O'Meara, warden of the Augustinian monastery of Thomdowmya (Toomevara), to whom a Papal Mandate was given in 1441,⁸⁷ would seem to belong to that family. The *Shell Guide to Ireland* under Toomevara reports that 'close to the North wall (of the Abbey ruin) is a fragment of the 15th century tomb of Joannes O'Meara, with the effigy of an ecclesiastic'.

A Dermitius de Meara supplicated for a degree in Canon Law at Oxford in 1514: he had studied the subject over 16 years at Cambridge, Paris and Oxford (Wood, 22).^{87A} Thady O'Meara, last Prior at Nenagh, presided at a Consistory Court there in 1533: he is mentioned as being in some way 'under' the Guardian of Tom (Toomevara) in *Cal Orm. V.* 294, 244, and is obviously closely related to John O'Meara (*fl.*1543-70), Captain of his Nation, of Lissinisky. On the closing of the Nenagh abbey he was given much land in the two Ormonds.⁸⁸

Donald O'Meara became Guardian of the Abbey of Toomevara in 1541. On the closing of the abbey he took lay clothes and built a castle – in defence against the Irish.⁸⁹ Earlier the question has been raised if he were not Donald, the successor to John (*fl*. 1543-70). Arrears of rent to the Earl of Ormond were in 1548 to be proved before Donyll, Guardian of Tombe.⁹⁰ And Donald O'Meara of Lissinisky, Captain of his Sept (*fl*. 1570-99), levied and exacted tribute to the Earl in 1578.⁹¹ Donald of Lissinisky succeeded to John *c*. 1570.

FOOTNOTES

- 1. O'Donovan, vv. 1217-20, 1494 f., 1498-1501.
- 2. Ó Corráin (1), 1.
- 3. O Corráin (3), 33.
- 4. Ó Corráin (1), 1-9.
- 5. MacNeill (3).
- 6. Ó Corráin (2).
- 7. Ó Donnchada, 236.
- 8. MacLysaght (9).
- 9. Ó Corráin (1), 8 f., 76, (2), 187 ff.; MacNeill (2), 39 f.
- 10. Ó Corráin (3), 32.
- 11. O'Donovan 12.
- 12. Cal. Orm. v. 307, 204.
- 13. Lydon 6-14.
- 14. Cal. Orm. vi. 71.
- 15. White 64 ff.
- 16. Cal. Orm. ii. 22, 10.
- 17. Stopford-Green 74.
- 18. Nolan 16.
- 19. O'Grady 353, 4; 361.
- 20. O'Brien-Guinness 13.
- 21. B.N. 2145, 48712; Calendar of Stuart MSS., Windsor I. 215.
- 22. O'Hart 239.

- 23. M.S.H.I.C. indenture of 1534.
- 24. Gen. Off. MS. 70, pos. film 8287, 8288.
- 25. Cal. Orm. v. 294, 244.
- 26. Cal. Orm. v. 168, 186.
- 27. Cal. Orm. v. 307, 204.
- 28. D. Gleeson 233.
- 29. N.A., R/C 5, 22, 390.
- 29A. Cal. Orm. vi. 116, 3, p. 93.
- 30. D. Gleeson, 143 n.l.
- 31. D. Gleeson, 139.
- 32. D. Gleeson, 54.
- 33. B.N. 2145, 48712; Calendar of Stuart MSS. Windsor, i, 215.
- 34. C.S. II, 257.
- 35. Cal. Orm. vi. 140, 115.
- 36. D. Gleeson and refs., 144 f.
- 37. Cf. D. Gleeson 43 f.
- 38. N.A., R/C 5, 22. 398 ff.
- 39. Cf. C.S. II. 247.
- 40. Laffan.
- 41. Bourke 757.
- 42. Cf. C.S. II.
- 43. D. Gleeson 54 and refs.
- 44. Betham 51, 1697; D. Gleeson 148 ff.
- 45. De là Ponce MS. R.I.A.
- 46. Nolan 116.
- 47. Tipp Ing. III. 311.
- 48. D. Gleeson 227.
- 49. Ibid.
- 50. B.S.D., N.A. Microfiche MFS 2/8, Co. Tipperary, Upper Ormond; see also D. Gleeson, 247, 251.
- 51. Gleeson 149.
- 52. D. Gleeson 149, see refs.
- 53. N.A. Index to Cause Papers of Prerogative Office 1670-1710, 135.
- 54. A.H. 22. 99, 112 (126).
- 55. Hardinge, Transactions of R.I.A. xxiv (1864-74) for Nov. 1862, 294.
- 56. N.A. Index to Administrative Boards, Killaloe, WW, 16.
- 57. C. of I. Registry, Braemor Rd., Dublin 14.
- 58. Diggis La Touche.
- 59. O'Halloran 396.
- 60. Sheehan 12, 48, 51, 86.
- 60A. Nolan 297.
- 61. Ellis and Eustace III, 417.
- 62. J. Gleeson 467.
- 63. Sheehan 12.
- 64. 174 ff.
- 65. Com. Rin. v. 22 f.
- 66. II, 277, 385.
- 67. I, iv.
- 68. D. Gleeson 468.
- 69. O'Brien 2.
- 70. Phillimore and Thrift.
- 71. R.D. 474.91.298363.
- 72. R.D. 502.13.318660.
- 73. R.D. 599.117.407052.

- 74. O'Brien 2.
- 75. R.D. 582.110.391793.
- 76. C.S. II. 247.
- 77. Archives Nationales, Paris, cote P.O. 2145, dossier 48712, B.N., and Walsh, IV, LXXXI, 42 ff.
- 78. C.S. II. 247.
- 79. See Hayes 243 ff.
- 80. P.R.O. Kew: WO 25/3102: letter dated 11 March 1816.
- 81. Gen. Off. MS, 103, 62.
- 82. For Jeremiah O'Meara, wife and family, see Registry of Deeds, among which 431.217.27941, 524.567.344242, 543.430.36337/8, 533.109.366209/10, 579.90.388735, 603.437.412691 deserve attention.
- 83. Cullen 86/7.
- 84. XXIII, 20; 2315-17, 2319, etc.
- 85. Wood, 449.
- 86. Cal. St. Paps. 1660-1662; Inch. MS, e.g. nos. 1392, 1399, 1682; Vicars; Bethem 51.18.
- 87. J. Gleeson 461.
- 87A. De Là Ponce.
- 88. J. Gleeson 142.
- 89. D. Gleeson 37.
- 90. Cal. Orm. v. 13, 13.
- 91. Cal. Orm. v. 294, 307.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES USED.

A. H.	Analecta Hibernica.
A. D.	Aphorismical Discovery, a 17th century Jacobite MS. in T.C.D., incorporated in Gilbert (below).
Betham	Betham's Abstracts of Prerogative Wills, National Archives, Dublin.
B.N.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
B. S. D.	Books of Survey and Distribution (17th century). That for Co. Tipperary is on microfilm in the National Library.
Bourke	B. Bourke, General Armory, 1884, 1969.
Cal. Orm.	Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed., E. Curtis, vols. 1-6, 1932-1943.
Cal. St. Paps.	Calendar of State Papers of Ireland, 1647-60, 1903.
Carew	T. Carew, Lyra, 1666.
C. of. I. R.	Church of Ireland, Registry, Braemor Rd., Dublin.
C. of I.	Church of Ireland, Ballymackey, Old Vestry Book.
C. S.	Civil Survey, ed. R. C. Simington, vol. II, 1934.
Coghlan	R. Coghlan, Irish Christian Names, 1979.
Com. Rin.	Commentarius Rinuccinianus, vol. V., 1954.
Cullen	M. P. Cullen, <i>History of Lisaniskea House and Occupants from 1753</i> (privately printed), 1982.
De Là Ponce	De Là Ponce MSS., Royal Irish Academy.
Digges La Touche	J.J. Digges La Touche, Index to the Act or Grant Books and Original Wills of Diocese of Dublin, 1800.
Dunlop	R. Dunlop, Ireland under the Commonwealth 2 vols, 1913.
Electors	Electors for Tipperary 1776, R.I.A.
Ellis and Eustace	E. Ellis and P.R. Eustace, Abstract of Wills, 1956-1984.
F. B.	Funeral Books, in National Library.
Gen. Off.	Genealogical Office, Dublin.
Gilbert	J.T. Gilbert, A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland 1641-52, 1880.
Gleeson D.	D.F. Gleeson, The Last Lords of Ormond, 1938.
Gleeson J.	J. Gleeson, The History of Ely O'Carroll, 1915, 1982.
G. V.	Griffith Valuation, c. 1850. On microfilm in various institutions.

Hardinge W. Harding, Trans R.I.A. (1864-) III, 294. Haves R. Hayes, Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France, 1949. H. M. R. See Laffan (below). Inch. MSS. The Inchiquin MSS., ed., J. Ainsworth, 1961. **Jennings** B. Jennings, Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1964. Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. I. K. A. S. T. Laffan, Tipperary Families, being the Hearth Money Records for Co. Tipperary 1665-Laffan 67, 1911. Lydon J. Lydon, ed., The English in Medieval Ireland, 1984. MacLysaght E. MacLysaght, More Irish Families, 1960. MacNeill Eoin MacNeil: (1) Journal of the Ivernian Society, 3, 142-61, 1910-11. (2) 'The Vita Tripertita of St. Patrick', Eriu, XI, 1930. (3) Phases of Irish History, 126 f., 1919, 1968. (4) Celtic Ireland, 189, n. 53, 1981. See Ó Corráin (2) (below). Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation, ed. R. Haves, 1965. M.S.H.I.C. National Archives, Dublin. N.A. N.L.I. National Library, Dublin. Nolan W. Nolan, ed., Tipperary History and Society, 1985. O'Brien, B. B. O'Brien, 'Islandmore', Cois Deirge, 1986-87, 2-5. O'Brien, I. J. O'Brien and D. Guinness, Great Irish Houses and Castles, 1992. D. Ó Corráin: Ó Corráin (1) Ireland before the Normans, 1980. (2) See MacNeill (above) (4). (3) 'Nationality and Kingship in pre-Norman Ireland', in T. Moody, ed. Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence, 1978. T. O'Donnchada, ed., An Leabhar Muimhnach, 1940. O'Donnchada J. O'Donovan, The Topographical Poems of O Dubhagáin and Giolla na Naomh O'Donovan Ó Huidhrin, 1862 (J. Carney re-edited the Irish text in 1943.) O' Grady S. O'Grady, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum, 1926-53. O'Halloran S. O'Halloran, General History of Ireland, 1778. J. O'Hart, Irish Pedigrees, 1881. O'Hart O'Meara Michael O'Meara of Ballinagrass, Co. Tipperary: (1) Tape of his account of his family tradition. (2) Oral account of his family tradition recorded in writing. (Copies of both are with the author). O.S. Ordnance Survey, 6" Maps. Petty W. Petty, Hiberniae Delineatio, 1685. Phillimore and Thrift W. Phillimore and G. Thrift, Indexes to Irish Wills. Baltimore (Genealogical Publication Co.), 1970. J. Prendergast, The Cromwellian Settlement, 1875. Prendergast Registry of Deeds, Dublin. The entries are by column, page and number of R. D. Memorial: e.g. (Vol.) 100 (page) 100 (Memorial) 100. R.I.A. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. E. Sheehan, Nenagh and its Neighbourhood, 1948, 1976. Sheehan A. Stopford-Green, The Making of Ireland and its Undoing, 1918. Stopford-Green Taylor and Skinner G. Taylor and A. Skinner, Maps of Ireland, 1778, 1969. Tipp. Inquis. Tipperary Inquisitions, 3 vols. R.I.A. T. A. Tithe Applotment, c. 1823. On microfilm in various institutions. Vicars A. Vicars, Index to Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1879. M. Walsh, Spanish Knights of Irish Origin, IV, 1978. Walsh N. White, ed., The Red Book of Ormond, 1932. White Wood A. à Wood, Fasti, 1691-92.